



Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv



Faculty of Sociology

Department of Social Structures and Social Relations

Current developments in Ukraine



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**Center for Slavic and East European Studies,
Ohio State University, Feb. 22, 2018**

Mapping the Problem

- Map of the USSR 1930



From: <http://mappinghistory.uoregon.edu/english/EU/EU14-01.html>

European History, 1945-90

Europe in 1970



<http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/euro1970.htm>

Map 2018



Research Questions:

- why from the same starting system of institutions, social structure and dominant culture Ukraine, Belarus and Russia went by the **different trajectories of social development**?
- What is **in common and what differs** the post-communist transformation in Eastern Europe and post-socialist transformation in post-USSR European countries?
- Did post-socialist transformation **end up**?

Path of post-USSR transformation

1) Macro-level of geopolitical strategy

1. Transit from Soviet Union to European Union. **CEE** + **Baltic** countries
2. Transformation of **Russia** (from liberalization+westernization 1990th to authorization+“Russia leading Eurasia” concept in 2000th (back to the ideology of Empire + satellites))
3. Transformations of **Belarus** – Satellite of RF, low level of institutional transformation, path-dependence
4. Transformation in between the EU and RF – **Ukraine** (balancing in strategic choice from 1991 till 2014 and path dependency)

Post-socialist transformation

1. **Economy:** from state planned centralized TO liberal market; from state socialism to capitalism
2. **Politics:** from monopoly of communist autocratic regime TO democracy (formal democracy institutions, plural party system, human empowerment (civic rights, pluralism in ideology, rotation of elites, etc)
3. **Culture:** value changes (revisions of XX ct. history; decommunization) → anomie + sociocultural trauma (Sztompka), pluralisation, de-secularisation (from atheism to religions), de-sovietisation (soviet people identity => national identity + nation state building)
4. **Social Quality** (structure, agency, attitudes)

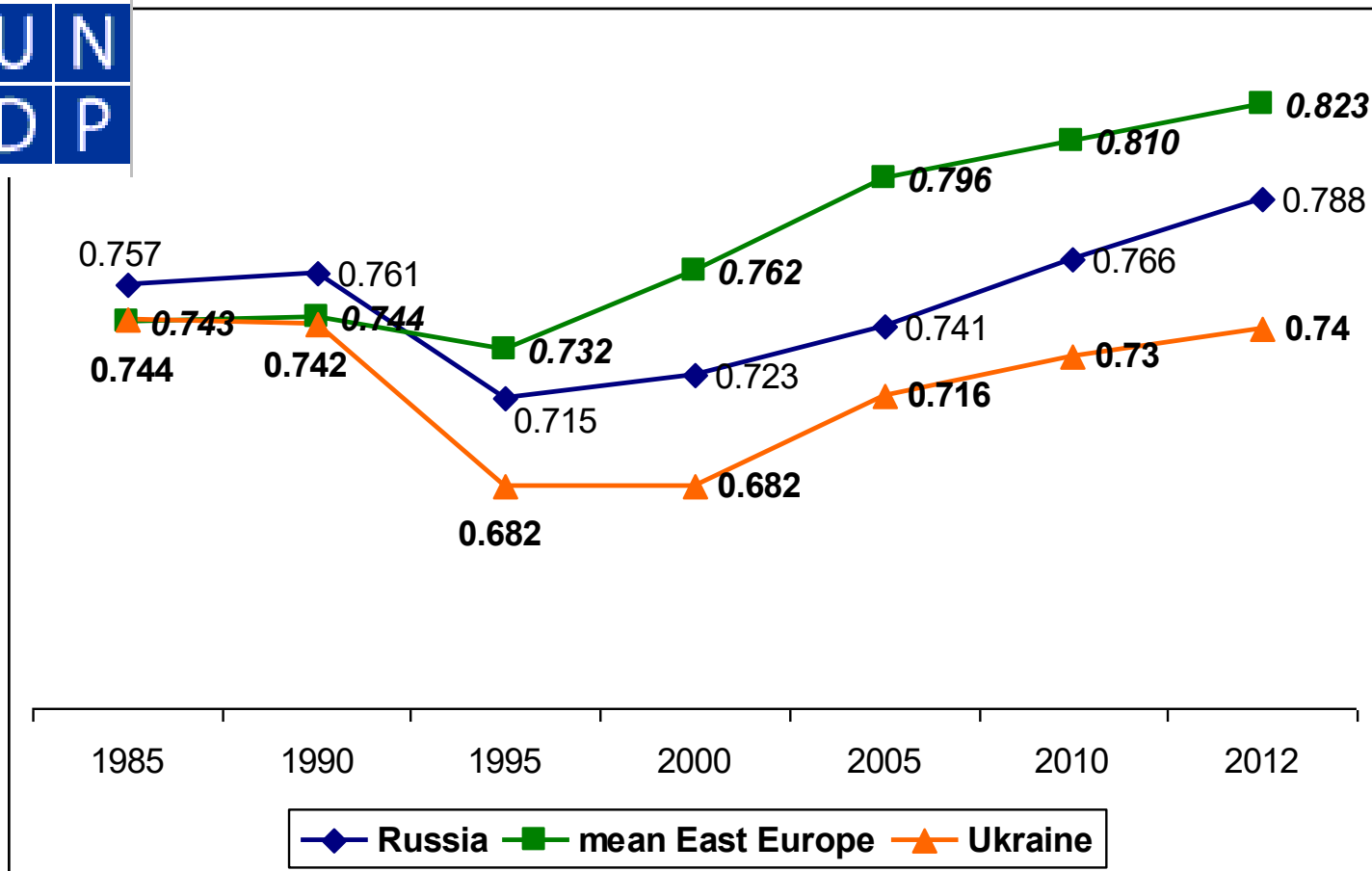
General measurement of post-USSR transformation

1. Human development (HDI)
2. Economy + politics (BTI)

Statistical approach: the formal development is higher than in USSR (GDP\ppp, Edu, Life expectancy) comparatively to 1985\1990)



Human Development Index Dynamics 1985-2012



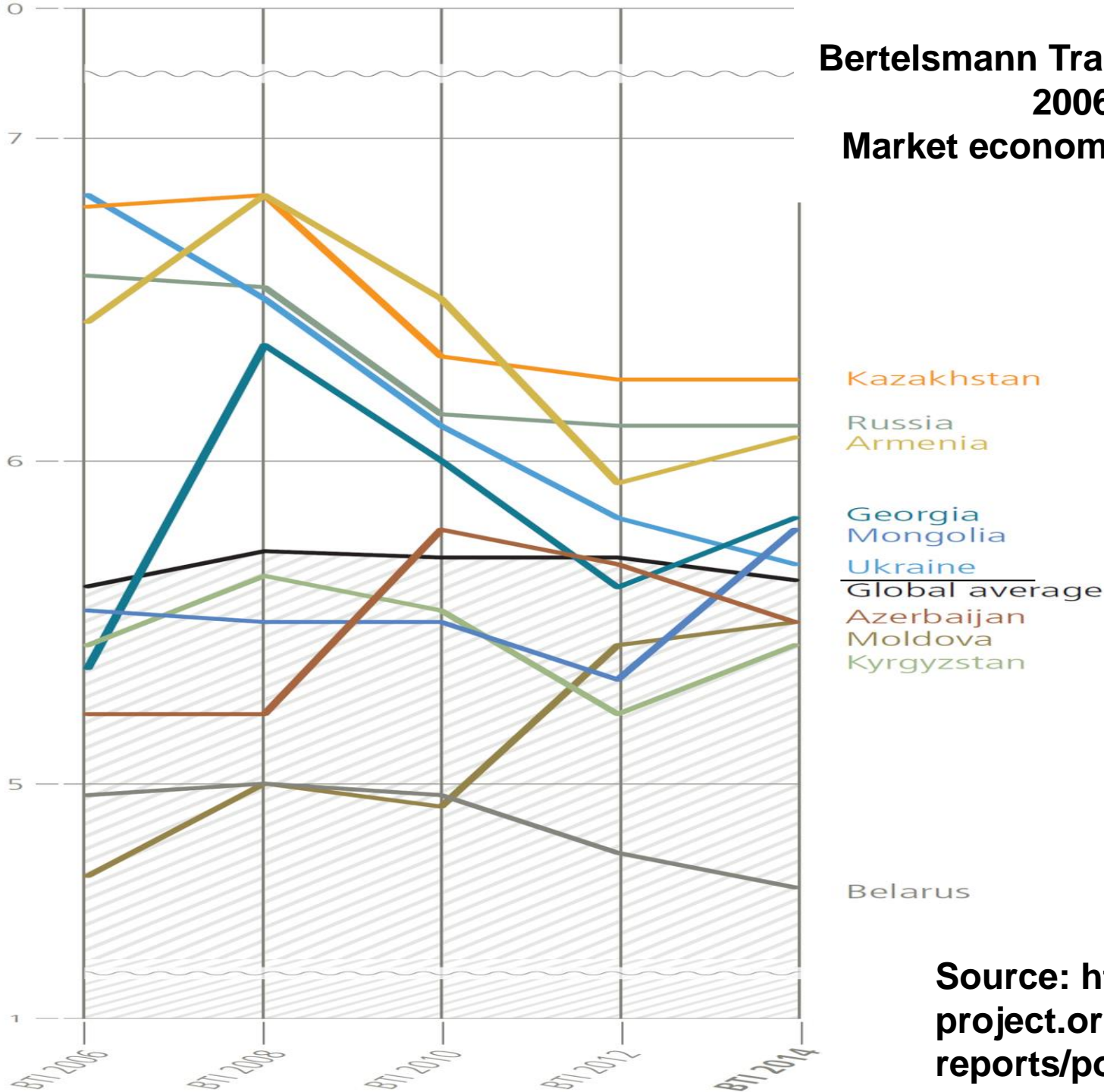
* East Europe includes:

Estonia,
Latvia
Lithuania,
Poland,
Hungary,
Slovakia,
Czech Rep.,
Romania,
Bulgaria

Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2006-2014

Market economy transformation

since the BTI 2006, when it was the regional leader in terms of market economy status, Ukraine's score has declined by a full 1.14 points.



Source: <http://www.bti-project.org/reports/regional-reports/post-soviet-eurasia/>

Bertelsmann Transformation Index

Result Management Index



Result Status Index

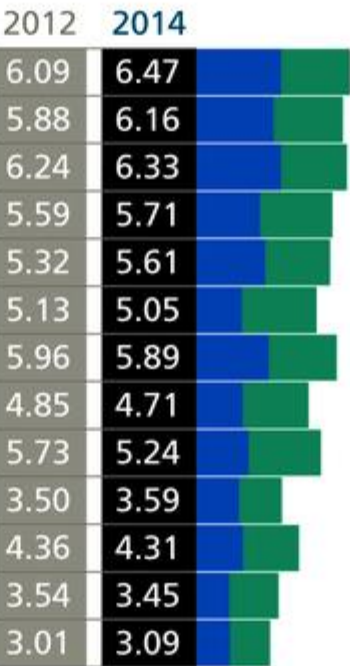


East-Central and Southeast Europe

Result Management Index



Result Status Index



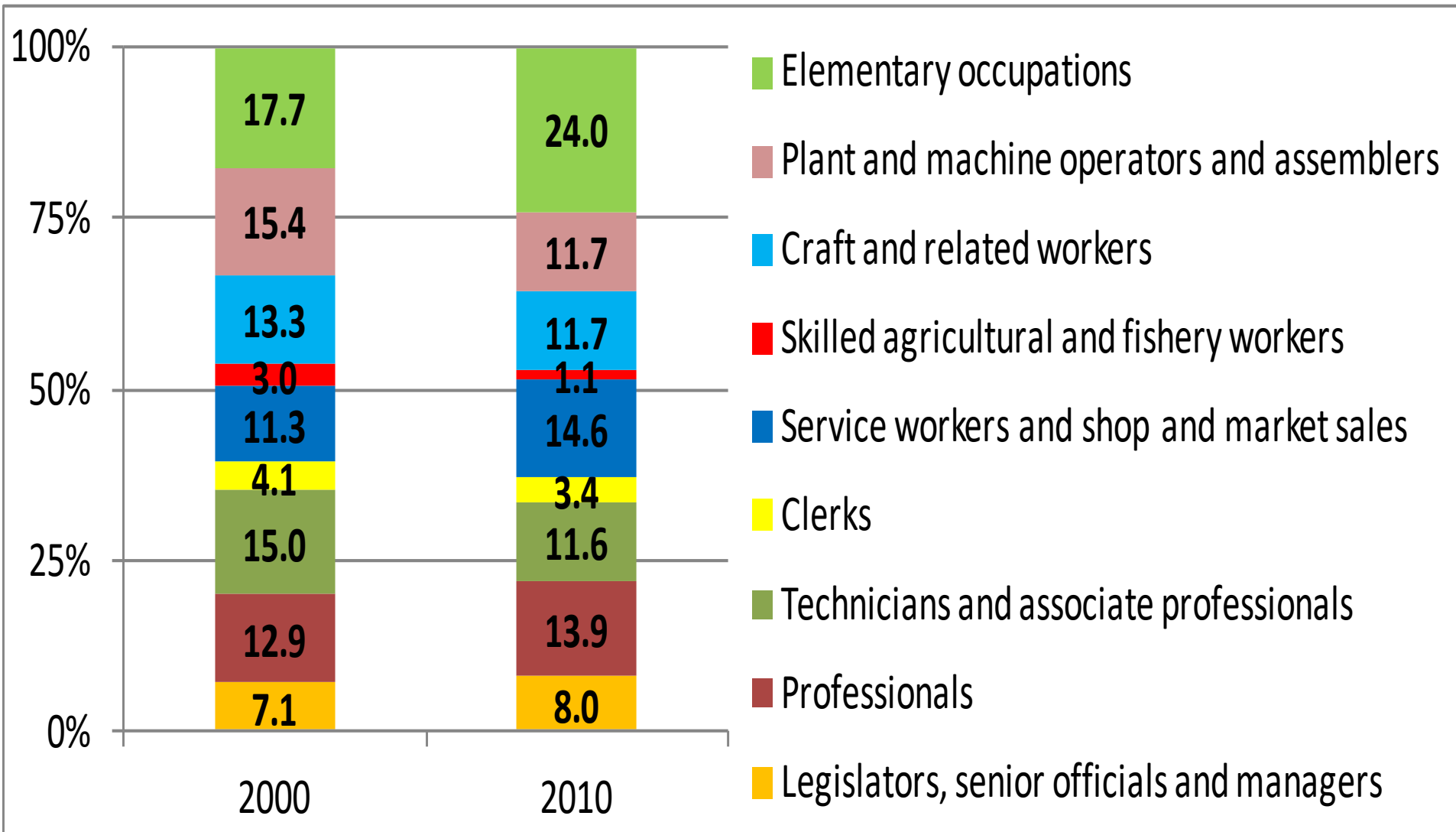
Post-Soviet Eurasia

Political transformation
Economic transformation

Social Quality and Social Inequality of post-socialist societies

1. Social class **structure** (occupations, stratification, middle class)
2. Social **agency** (internal social driven forces for transformation)
 - Quality of elites (social roots, rotation, ways to and from power)
 - Mass society activity and passiveness (innovation, protest, adaptation)

• Changes in the occupational composition of employment in Ukraine, 2000 and 2010



Source: State Statistics Service of Ukraine

Ukraine: Occupational Structure Decomposition

Report by the ILO 2012 “Decent Job in Ukraine”

- High level (up to 30%) of the **Informal Employment**: part-time jobs, not registered employment, oral employment contract, not registered self-employment
- In general **low quality employment** dominates: not qualified work – elementary jobs with low and non stable salary, low quality of the working conditions, violation of the basic rights of employees

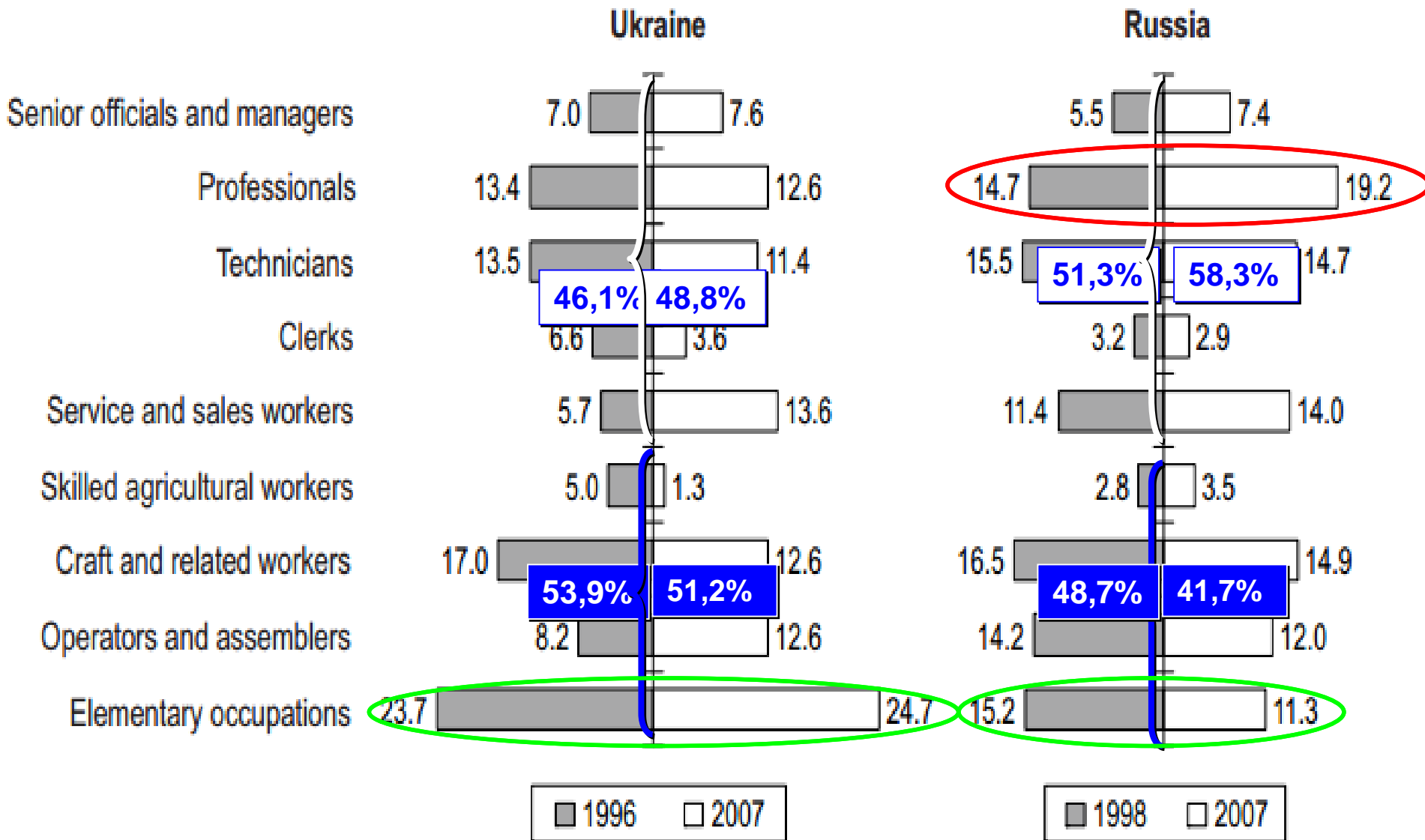
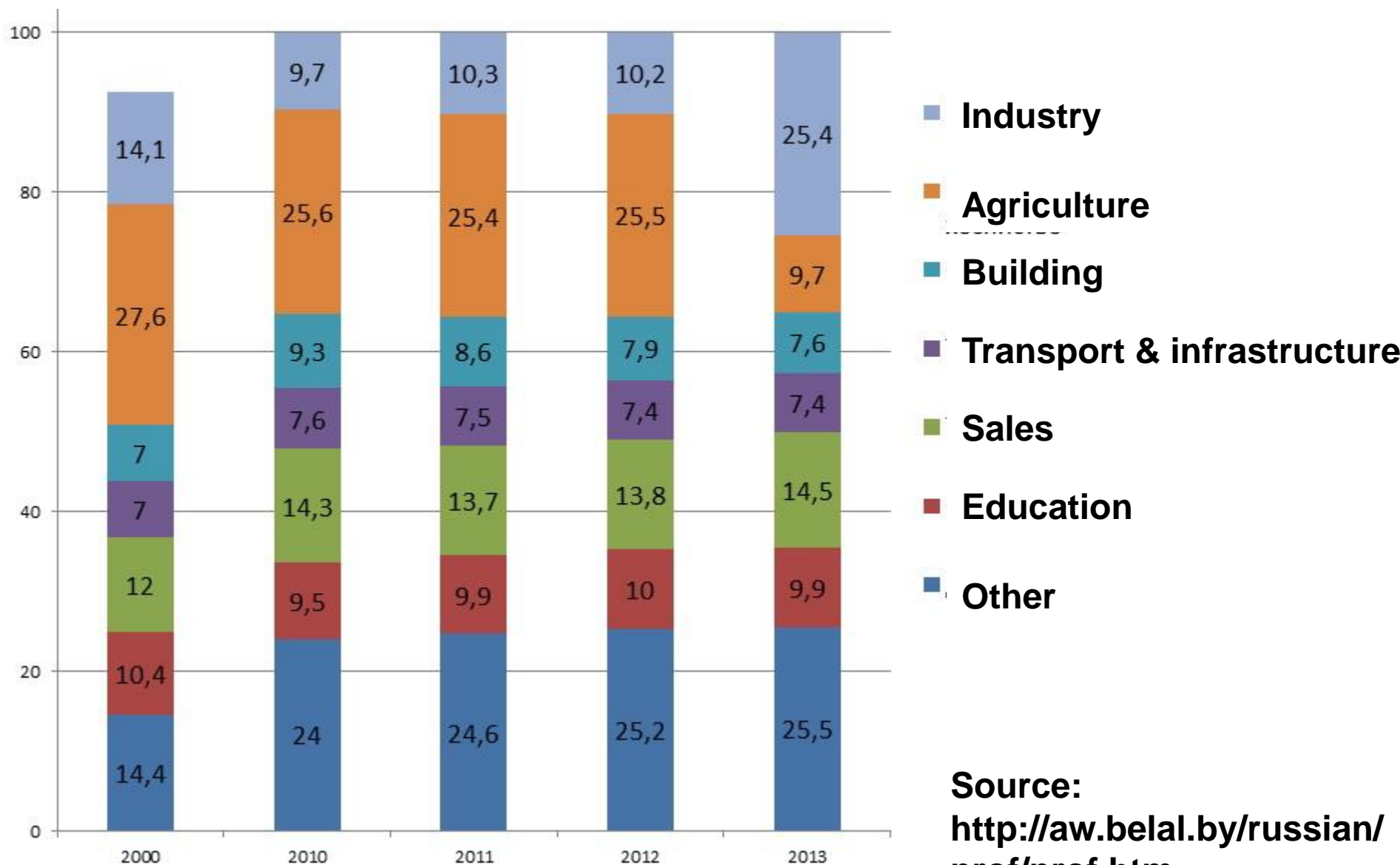


Figure 2. Dynamics of employed population in Ukraine and Russia, by occupational groups in 1996–2007 (by the data of official statistics), %

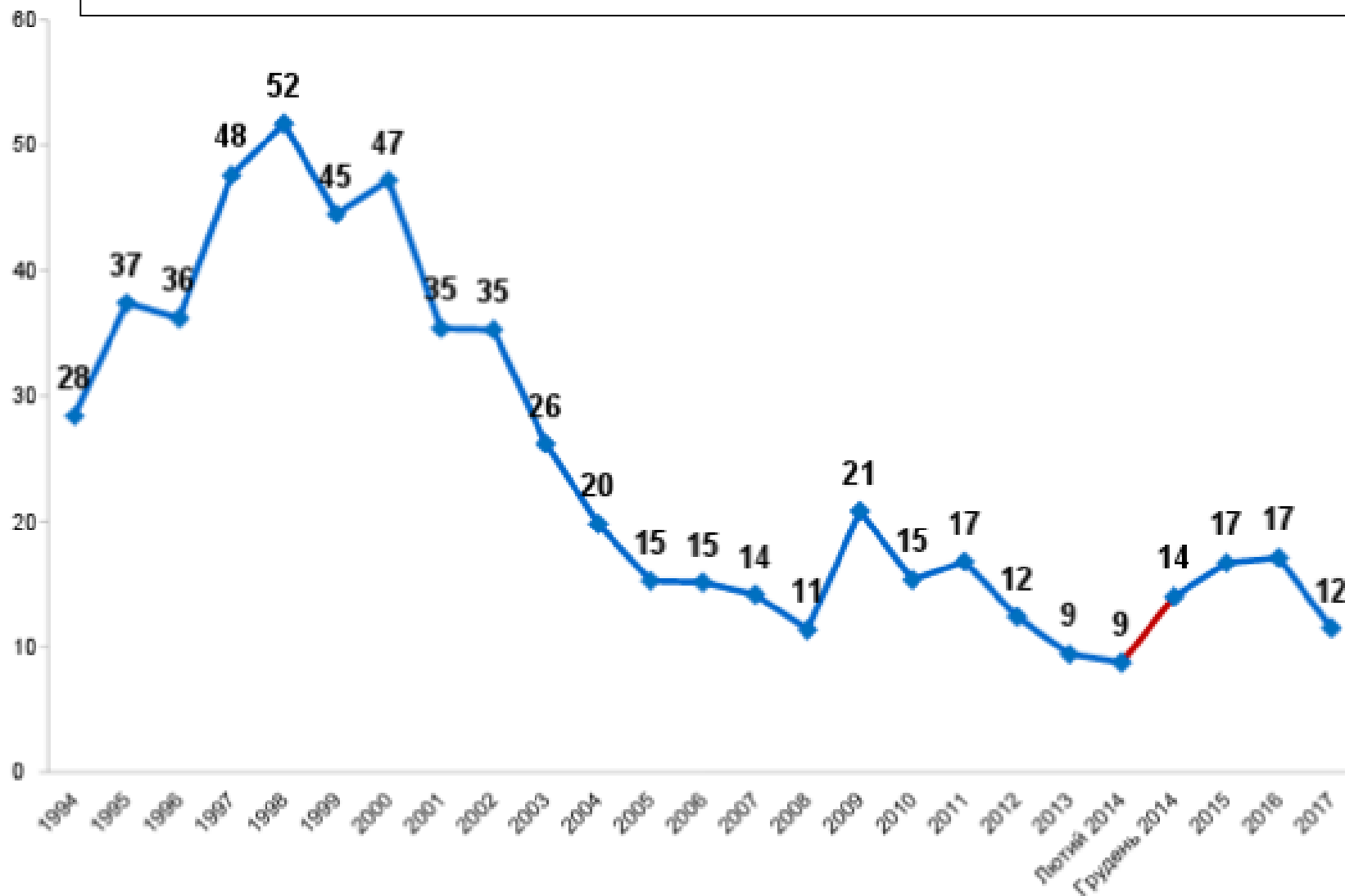
Belarus: Occupational structure 2000-2013

(% of employed, state statistics)



Source:
<http://aw.belal.by/russian/prof/prof.htm>

Dynamics of absolute poverty by self-estimation %of answers “our income is not enough to buy food”



middle class as a social base for post-socialist transformation driving force - Ukraine

Ukraine: middle class is rather a myth, whereas it suffered the most under the crisis 2014-18:

Measured 2014 (Razumkov Center) by:

- Self-estimation – 55%, BUT
- incomes \ consumption – 10-11%
- Type of employment
 - “old middle class” – entrepreneurs + middle-range business 10%, “new middle class”(creative class+managers) 15-20%, generation 30-45 40%
- Values: pro-EU, anti-corruption, social base of Orange revolution 2004-05 and Revolution of Dignity 2013-14

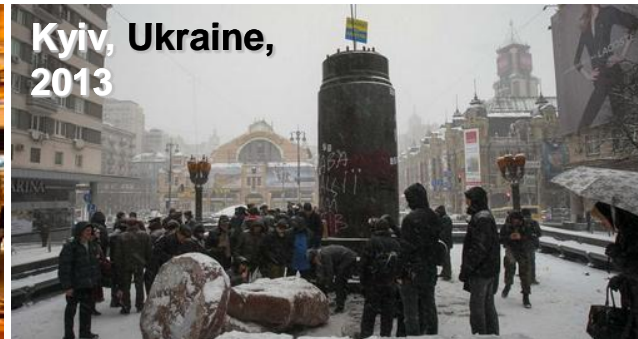
middle class as a social base \ driving force (?) for post-socialist transformation

Russia: middle class is a myth. Measured 2014
(by O.Shkaratan, V.Ilyin) :

- Self-estimation – 18-42%(Levada center data), BUT
- incomes \ consumption – 7-8%
- Type of employment: “old middle class” –
entrepreneurs + middle-range business 5-10%,
“new middle class” (creative class+managers) 5-7%,
state servants and army\security 45%

Belarus: no data

Culture: revisions of the history of XX ct. + attitudes toward future



- 1) Never again: CEE + Baltic countries.
De-communisation
1989-2000th
- 2) Ambiguity 1990th
but finally 2005+
2014+ de-
communization
waves – Ukraine
- 3) Continuity & “Back
to the USSR” –
Belarus + Russia

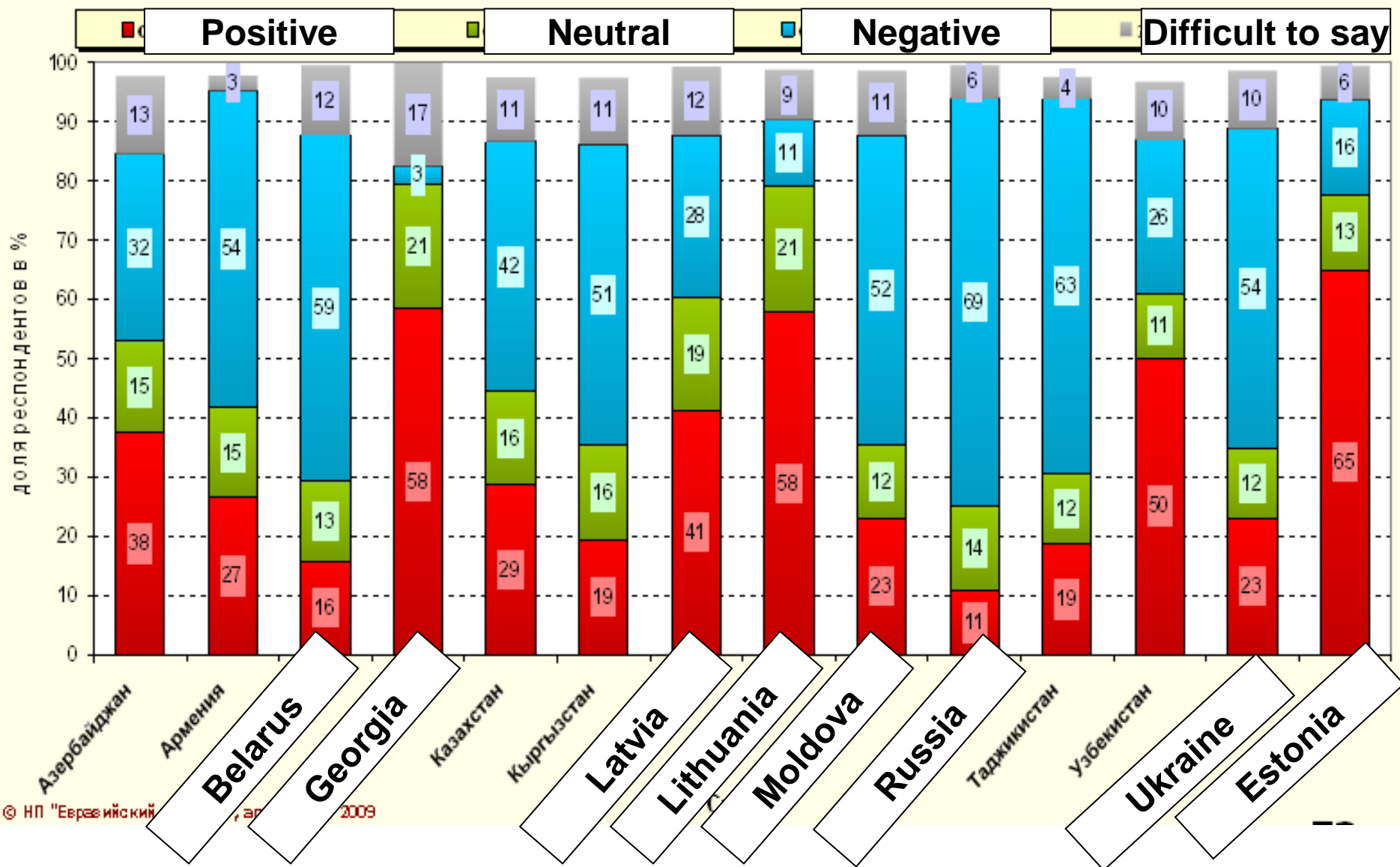






Eurasian Monitoring, 2009, 14 post-USSR countries

How do you assess breakup (the Fall) of the USSR in 1991 (%)



Are you pity now about the fall \
breakup of the USSR in 1991?

By administrative regions (oblast)



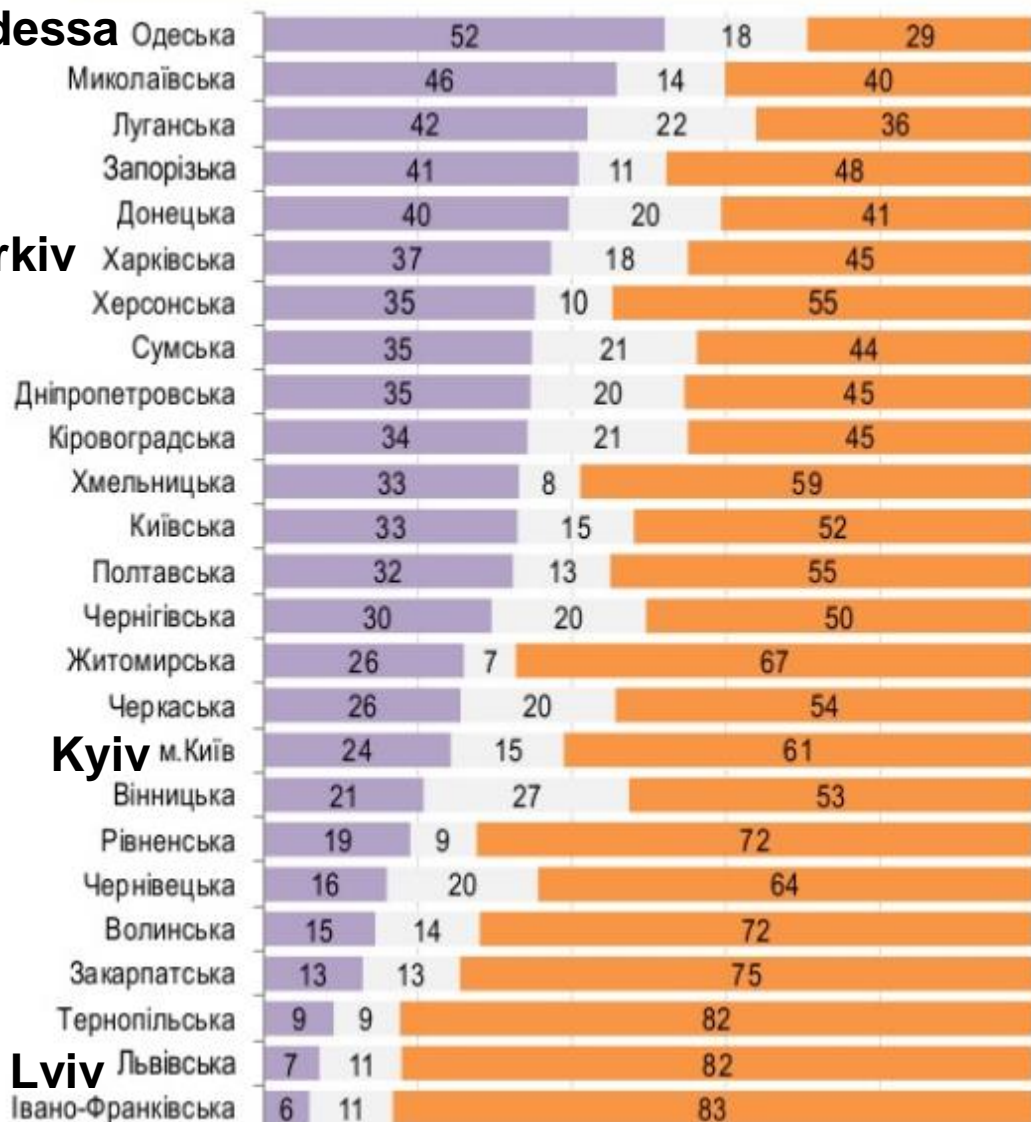
Odessa Одеська

Kharkiv Харківська

Kyiv м.Київ

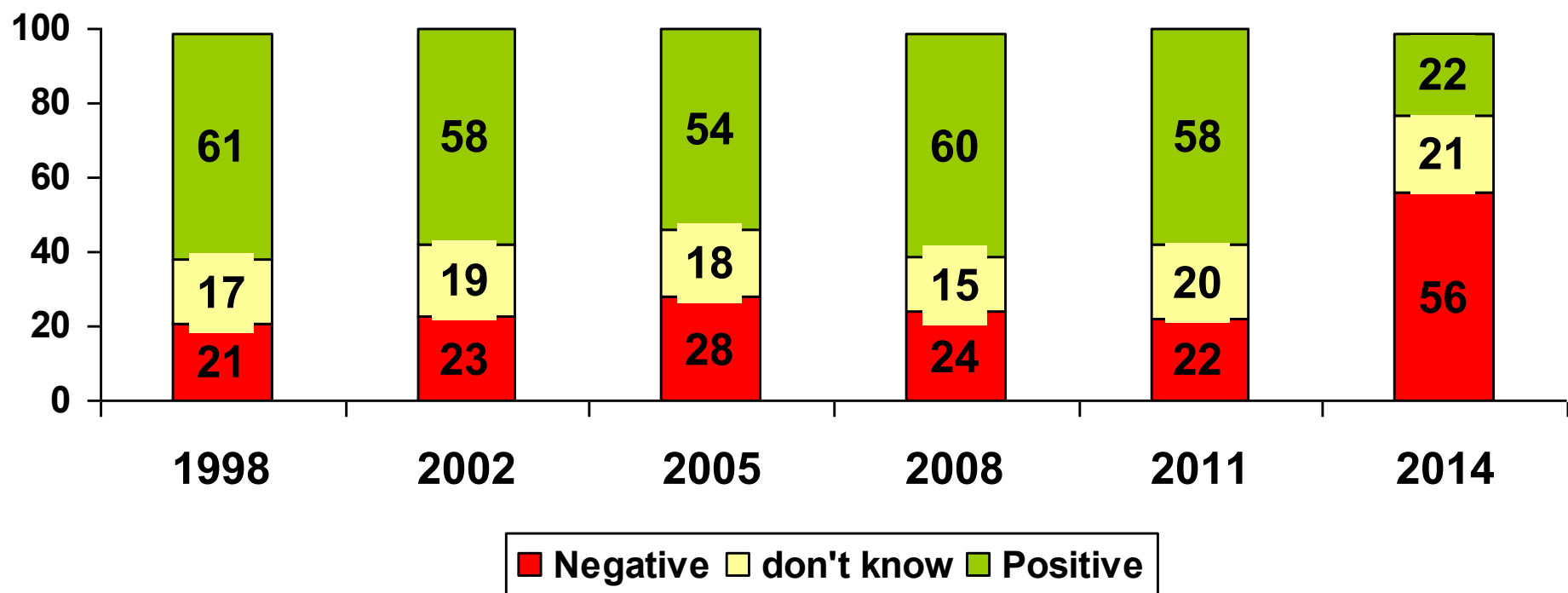
Lviv Львівська

Івано-Франківська



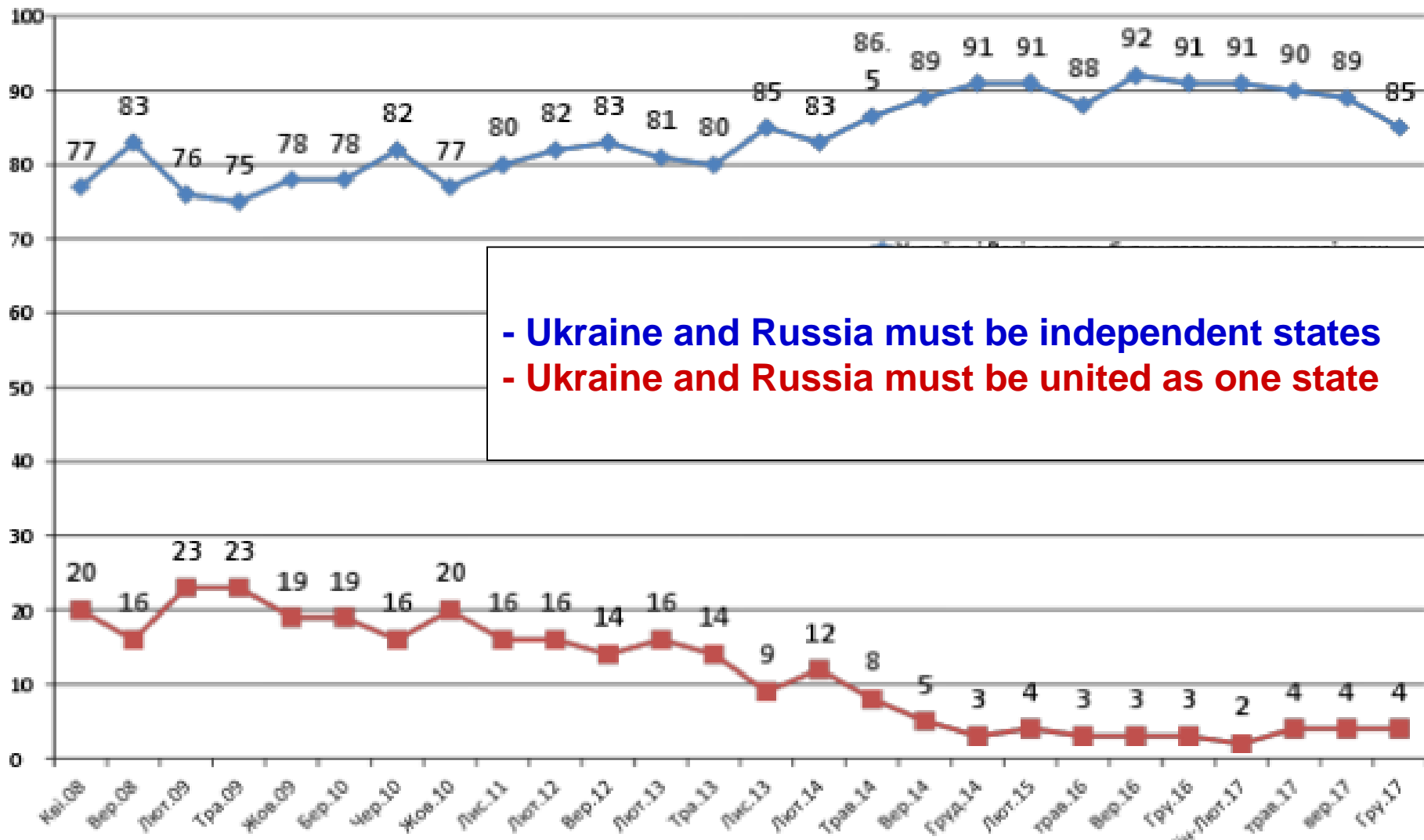
UKRAINE Dec2017

Dynamics of the attitude of Ukrainians toward the idea of Ukraine to join the union of Belarus and Russia (%) 1998-2014

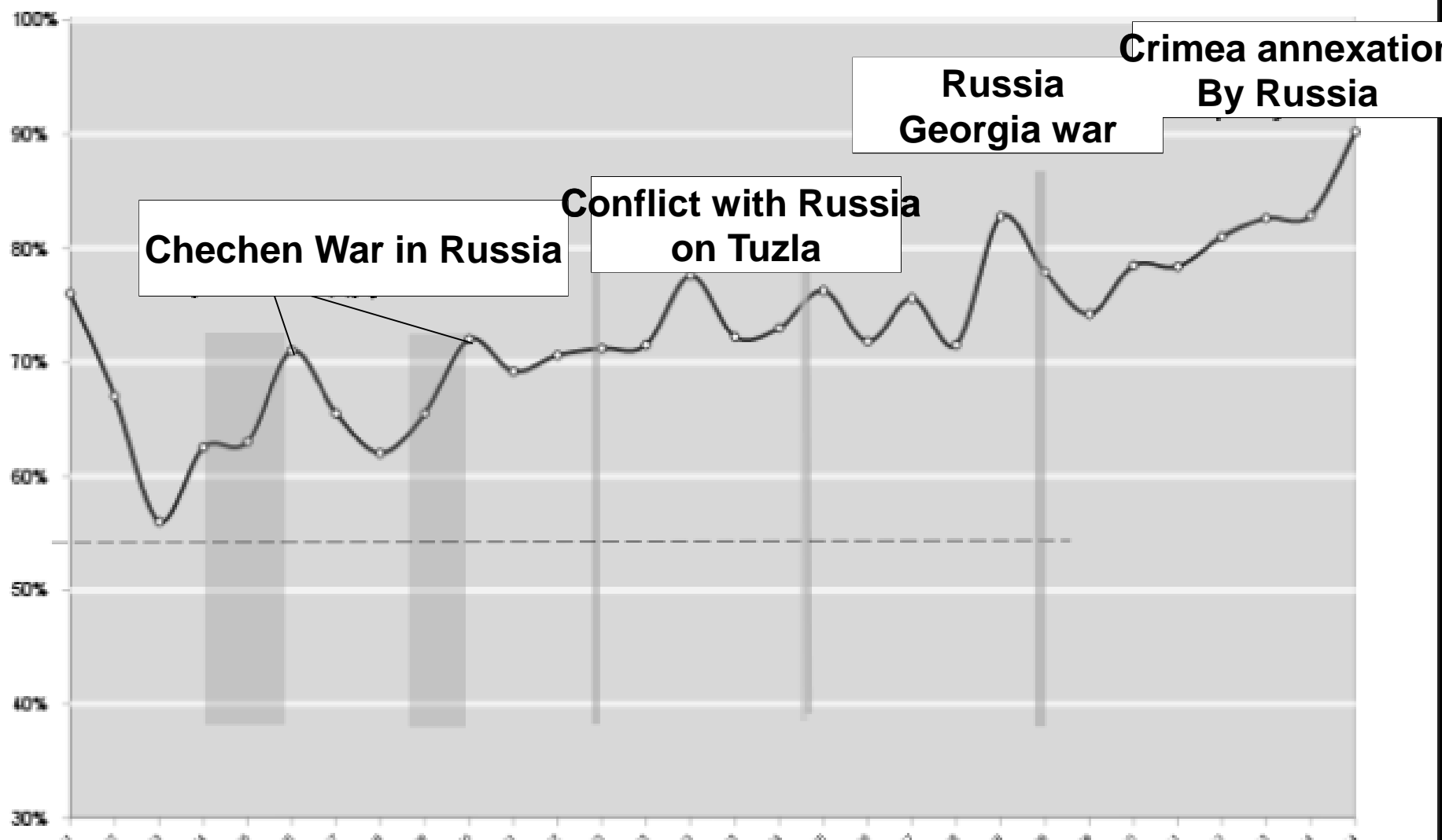


Source: Sociological Monitoring by Institute of Sociology National Academy of Science of Ukraine, national sample N=1800

What kind of relations should be between Ukraine and Russia?

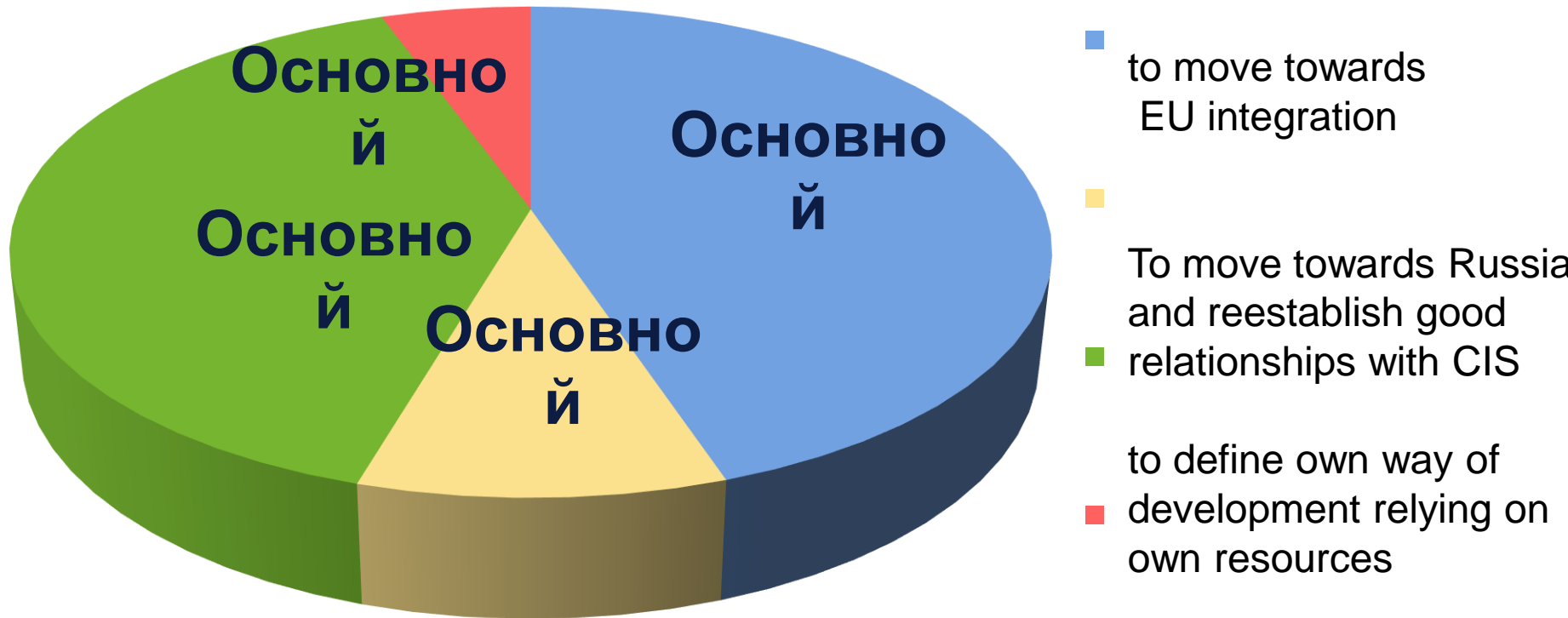


Dynamics of support of independence of Ukraine 1991-2015 (%)

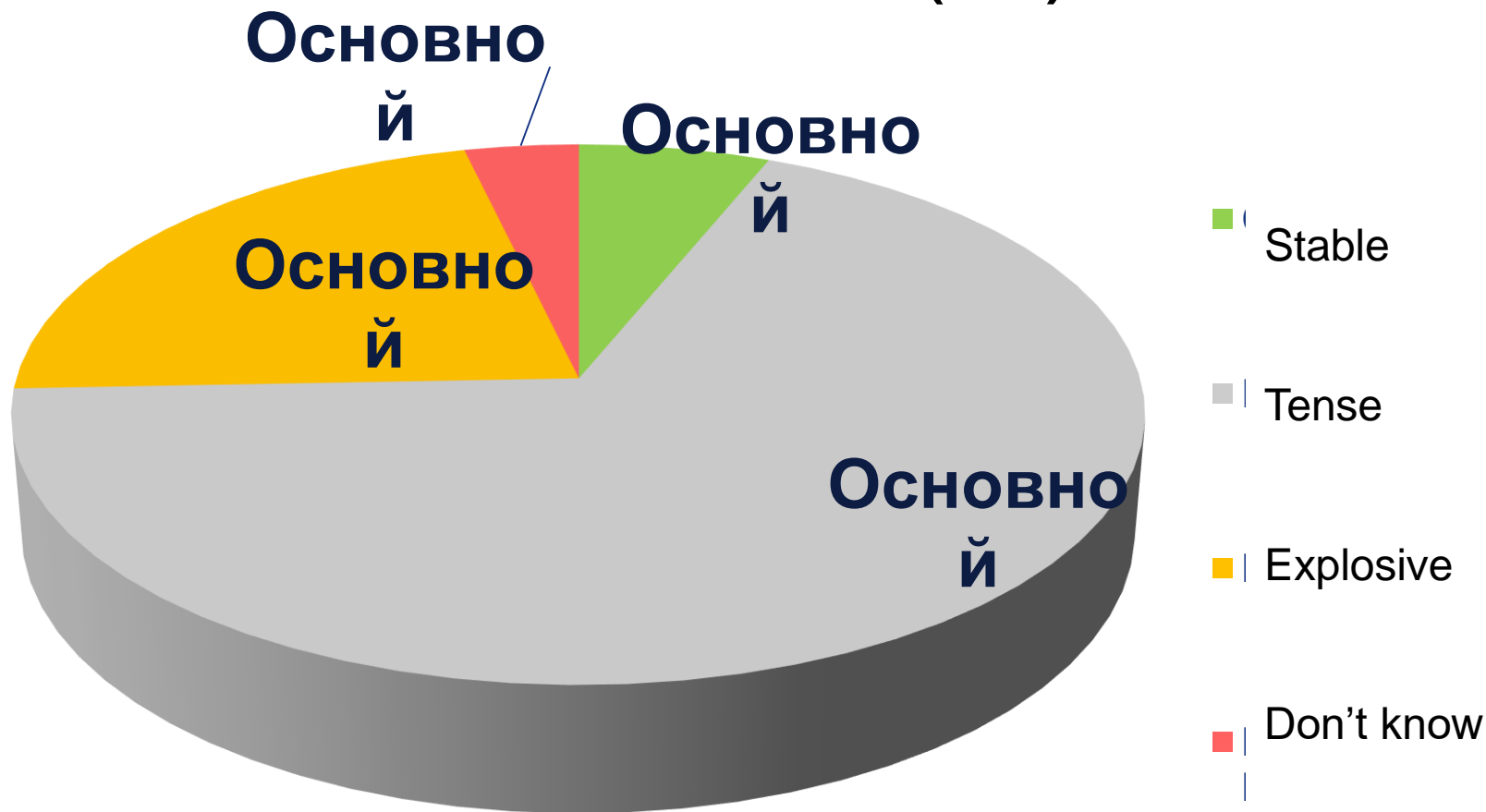


Моніторингові опитування КМІС, F2F, n=2000, 1991-2015 рр.

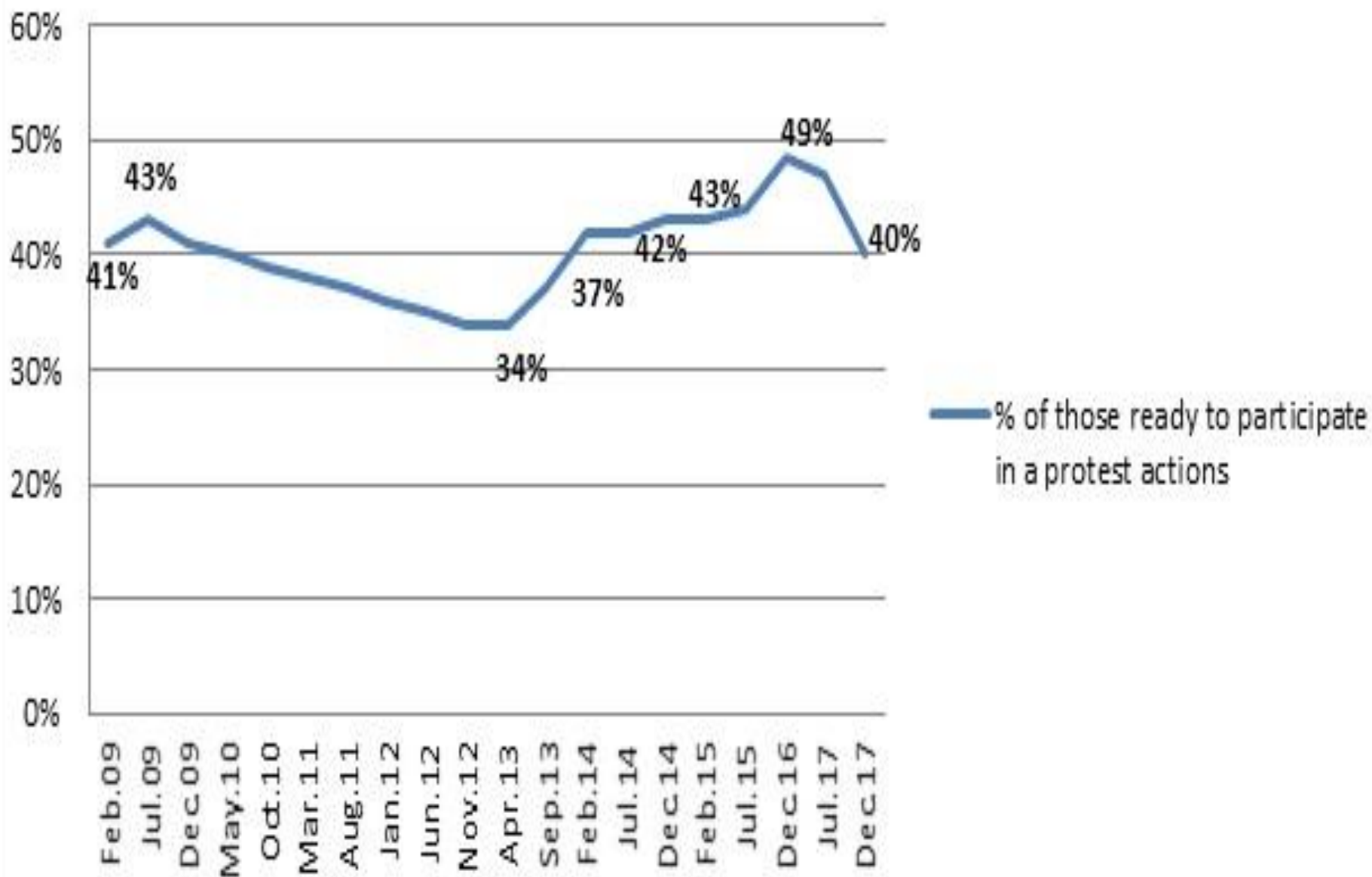
What is the best way for Ukraine further development? Nov. 2017(%)



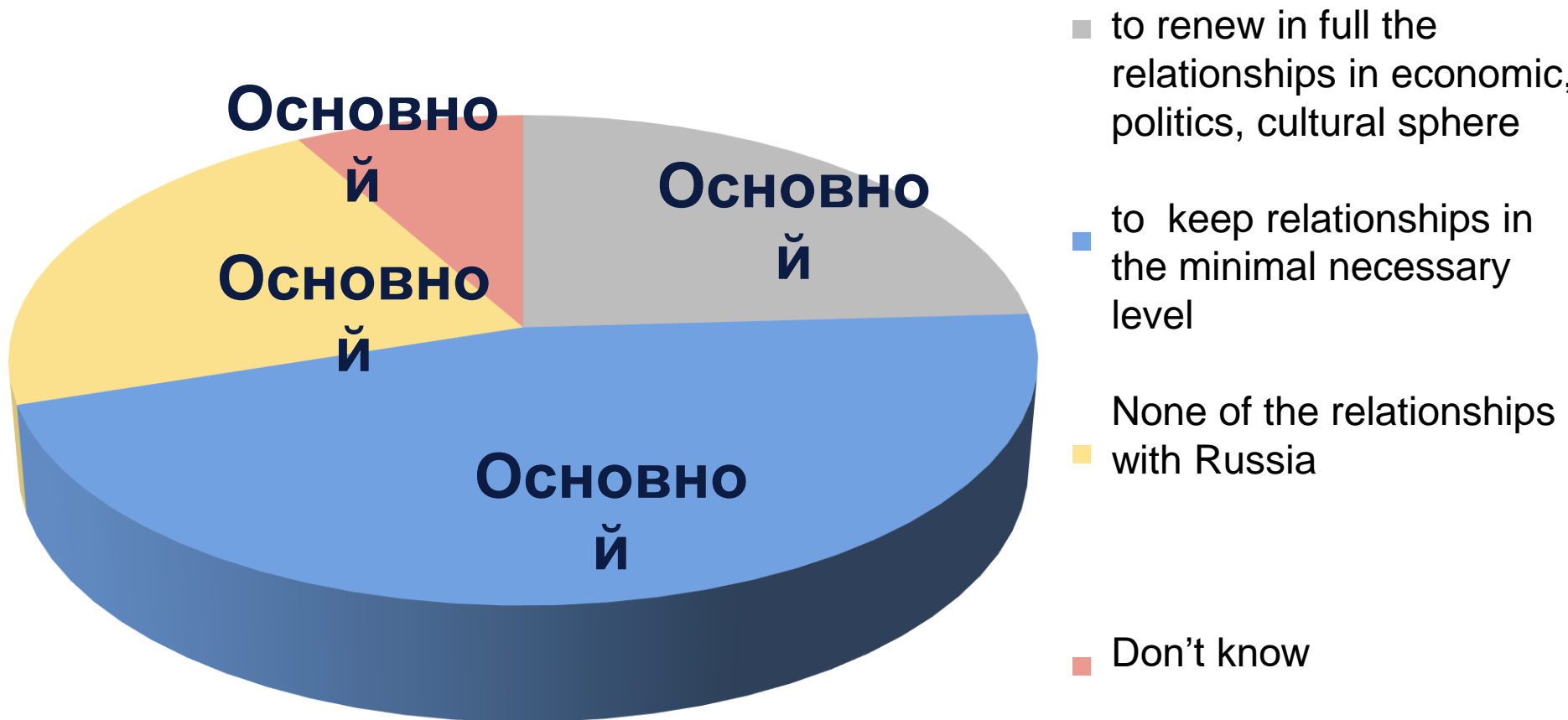
What kind of situation is in Ukraine now? (%)



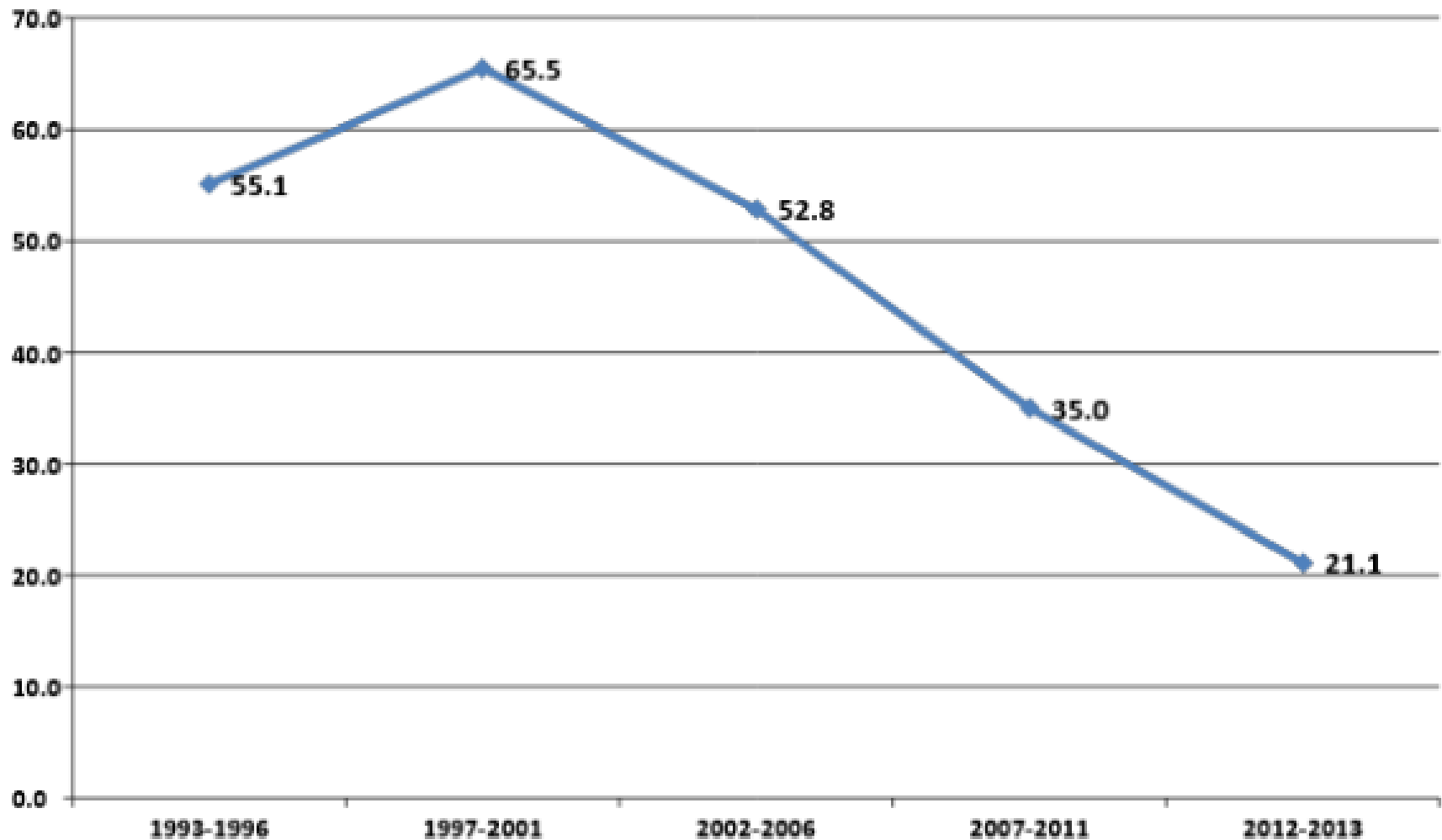
Dynamics of the readiness to participate in mass protest actions (2009 - 2017)



How the relationships with Russia should be developed after the war at the Eastern part of Ukraine is finished?



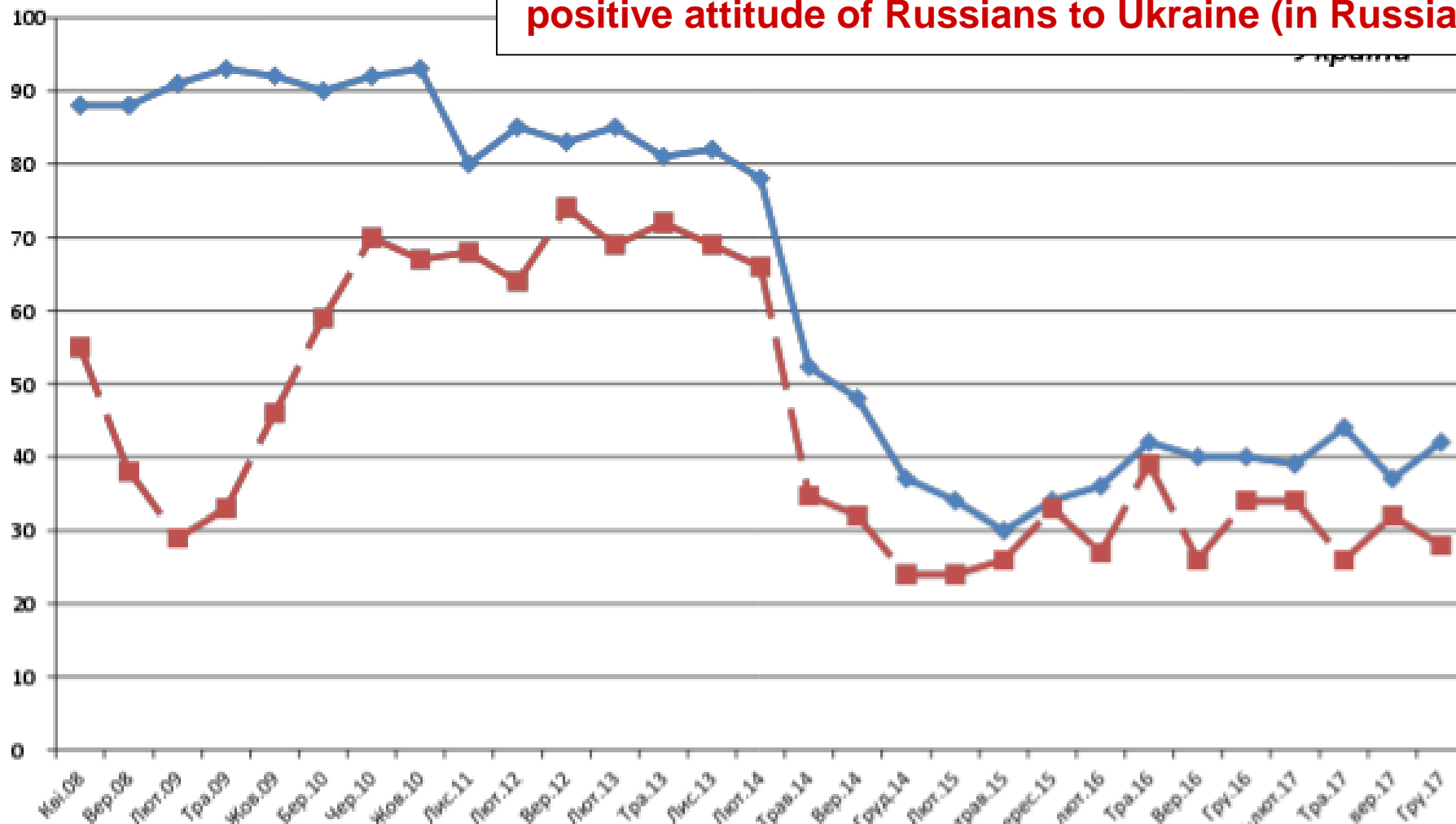
Crimea (1993-2013) dynamics of % those who considered that Ukraine and Russia must be united in the one state



KIIS Monitoring survey, F2F, за кожний період опитано приблизно 400 респондентів, 1993-2013 years

Dynamisc of positive attitude of Ukrainians to Russia (in Ukraine) and Russians to Ukraine (in Russia, data by Levada center) 2008-2017

positive attitude of Ukrainians to Russia (in Ukraine)
 positive attitude of Russians to Ukraine (in Russia)



KIIS poll in Ukraine and Levada-Center in Russia, 2008-2017 years

The case of Crimea annexation and internally displaced people

Ukraine: Who controls what



Source: Al Jazeera, LiveUMap
Updated: February 2017

Be aware of FAKE \ biased sociology

→ ↻ ⌂ [Защищено | https://www.zois-berlin.de/publikationen/zois-report/](https://www.zois-berlin.de/publikationen/zois-report/)

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Centre for East European and International Studies

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ZOIS Report

[Terra Incognita: The public mood in Crimea](#)

ZOIS Report 3/2017

by [Gwendolyn Sasse](#)

Since the incorporation of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol as subject of the Russian Federation in March 2014 Crimea has, by and large, become terra incognita. The survey conducted in Crimea (March-May 2017) provides a rare glimpse into the

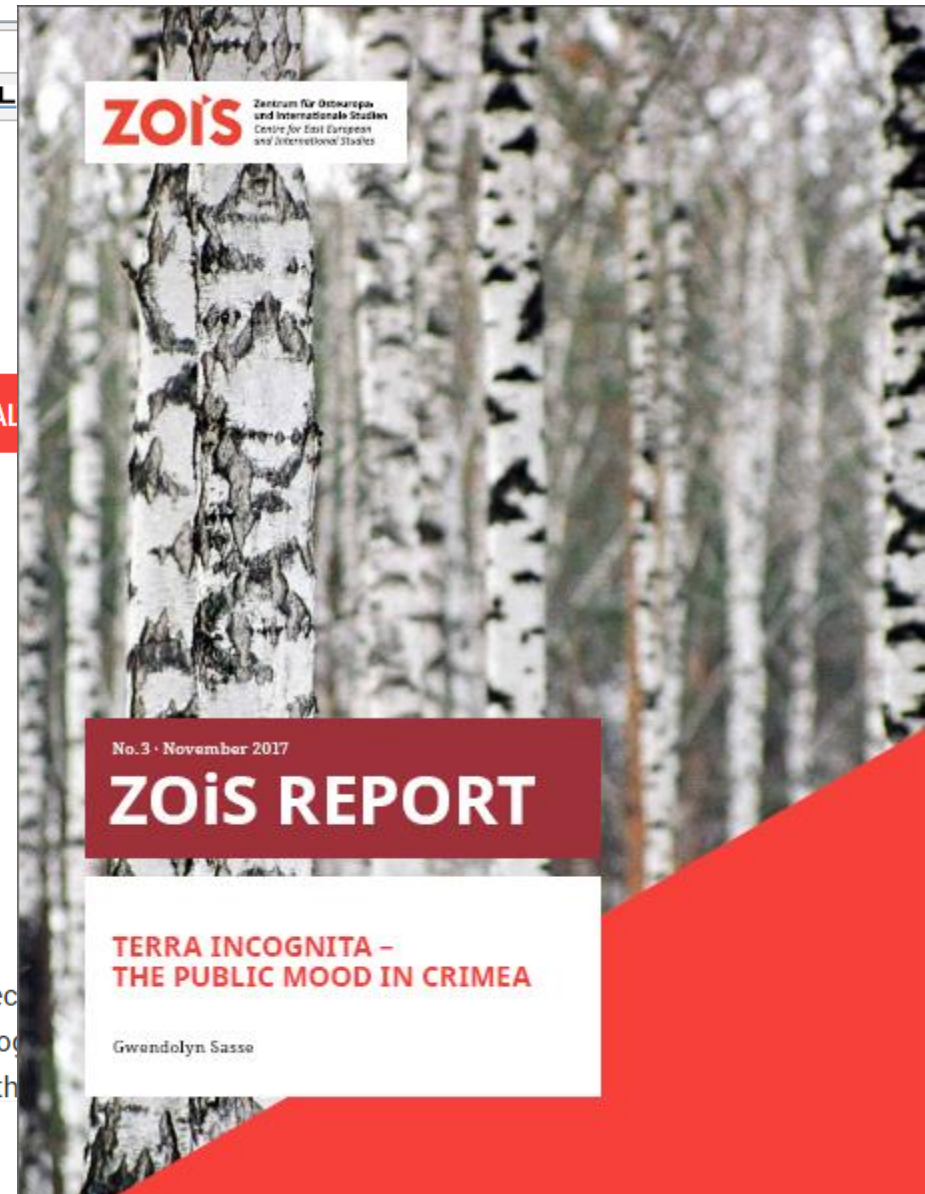
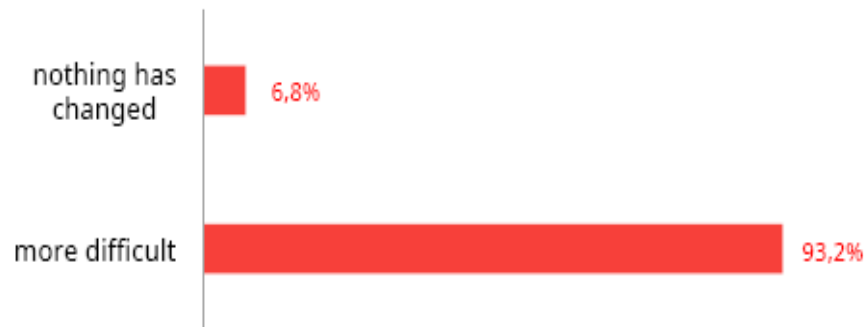


FIGURE 1

Trips to other parts of Ukraine have become...

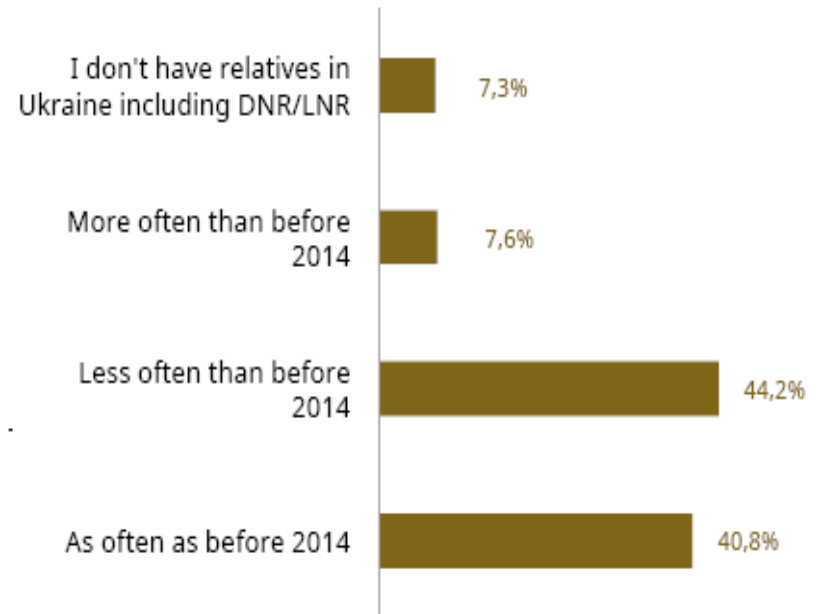


n=222

Quelle: Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien

FIGURE 2

How often are you in touch with your relatives in Ukraine?



n=667

Quelle: Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien

ZOiS in the media

2 December 2017

Radio broadcast Deutschlandfunk on "[The myth Crimea](#)" and quotes the ZOiS Report by Gwendolyn Sasse (minute 42) (German).

18 November 2017

Based on the ZOiS Report, an article by [FAZ](#) describes the Crimean people and how they see the world (German).

17 November 2017

The Ukrainian media [TVi](#), [VESTI-UA](#), [LIGA](#) and [STRANA](#) refer to the ZOiS Report on the situation of the population in Crimea (Russian).

16/17 November 2017

Based on the ZOiS Report, Deutsche Welle describes the situation in Crimea and the population's ties to Ukraine ([Russian](#) and [Ukrainian](#)).

What Is the Public Mood Like in Crimea?



GWENDOLYN SASSE

A new survey spells out the disrupted links to the rest of Ukraine, limited travel by Crimeans to other parts of Russia, a near-complete integration into the Russian media sphere, and continuing repression of the Tatars.

November 05, 2017 Печать PRINT PAGE Comments (5)

Since the annexation of Crimea by Russia in March 2014, access to the peninsula has been severely restricted—including for relatives from mainland Ukraine and foreign journalists.

Crimea has, by and large, become terra incognita.

From March to May 2017, the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) conducted a survey that provides a rare glimpse into the public mood in the region (the full ZOiS Report is forthcoming).

The survey was conducted through individual face-to-face interviews and based on a representative sample of 1,800 urban and rural Crimean residents aged eighteen and older. A booster sample of 200 Crimean Tatars was added to ensure the sufficient inclusion of Crimean Tatars.



Gwendolyn Sasse
Nonresident Senior Fellow
Carnegie Europe

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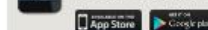
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Fake \ biased sociology

- No freedom of speech = No public opinion to be measured by survey (the statement that Crimea is Ukraine now cost 3 years of prison)
- Crimea as occupied territory Versus Crimea as a normal society that can be studies with regularly methods (face-to-face interview)
- No means to do representative sample:
 - No info on how many people refused from interview
 - Those who agree for interview are more likely to support current legacy => not representative sample

(more detailed in Elisabeth Noelle Neumann's The Spiral of Silence (1984))

- Impact of interviewer (who conducted interview) – Russian sociologists – their position can be presented & dominated = occupied territory gives no access to control the quality of the field data
- Mistakes in presenting data (i.e. Figure 1, where only n=222 out of N=2300 answered the question)

Conclusion: report presents rather official RF propaganda then public opinion in Crimea, occupied and still terra incognita

Even respected organisations like DW and Carnegi Center published the results of this report without checking the initial data & approach.

This normalize (legitimize) occupation of Crimea by RF, as it is presented as “normal” society available to study by sociological methods of public opinion survey.



Crimea nature

(no birch (white trees) that is symbol of Russia)



Useful sources on Ukraine



Digital Atlas of
UKRAINE



UKRAINIAN
RESEARCH
INSTITUTE

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY

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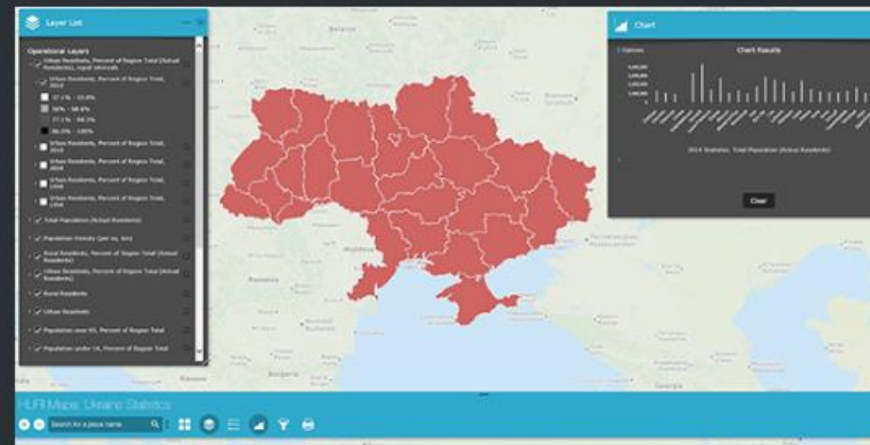
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HISTORICAL ATLAS



The Great Famine | Rus' Genealogy | Historic Podillya

CONTEMPORARY ATLAS



Revolution of Dignity | Ukraine and Russia: Together or Apart?

http://kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng

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Interview of V.I.Paniotto on the results of the KIIS study on decentralization

- Dr.Vladimir Paniotto, the Director General of KIIS, gave an interview to UA.TV about the results of the KIIS study on Ukraine's assessment of decentralization and local government reform.



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METHODS



Kyiv Ukraine



Thank you for your attention!

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sbabenko@gmail.com



Photo by Oleg Zharil
www.zharil.kiev.ua